information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

...s sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put 291
..., although in the case of village women only one or two ...ier dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For ...headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, ...nswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with ...turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as ...nsidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together ... the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the ...misspherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of ...e men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark ...ue in colour, a single roll of cloth.

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a 291 6:a
...striction which, of course, does not ... the ...men themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish ...men of the upper class may only appear uncovered before ...e men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and ...gnity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, ...men of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their ...ife, working in the fields and going to market, are always ...veiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords ...em no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially ...minent or alien person may cause them to hide their ...ces. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears ...r a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save ...r the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the ...ustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural ...rdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to ...n. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also

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purely wear significance, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often wear them, obtained from the local merchants or Arbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the yashmak or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but must have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ellah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the time wear [301] [751] [754]

invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rwanda this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the <u>seimaque</u>. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The <u>seimaque</u> and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

kept God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one offering produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

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the mountainside, causing his death. The luckless lad then meets the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan ("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in Rowandus," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious men and women who are able to change themselves into animals, such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chavm zar, "the evil eye," is a subject of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye. Further, it is believed that the individual who at one time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called mrrg, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 801 [439] 751. 777 [531]